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CULTURE AND LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION. TEACHER'S NOTEBOOK IN MODERN FOREIGN LANGUAGES.

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IN DEVELOPING THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF A FOREIGN LANGUAGE, TEACHERS HAVE TOO OFTEN LIMITED THEIR OBJECTIVES TO HIGHLIGHTING CERTAIN "FORMAL" OR HUMANISTIC ASPECTS AND PRODUCTS OF THE FOREIGN CULTURE. HOWEVER, IF WE ARE TO DEVELOP FULL STUDENT AWARENESS AND APPRECIATION OF THE FOREIGN CULTURE, WE MUST ALSO DEVELOP THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE IN ITS "DEEP" OR ANTHROPOLOGICAL SENSE IN TERMS OF A CIVILIZATION'S VALUES AND MORES. SINCE LANGUAGE IS BOTH A VEHICLE OF CULTURE AND THE BROADEST, MOST REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLE OF IT, FULLEST APPRECIATION OF THE TARGET CULTURE IS BEST DEVELOPED THROUGH THE STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE ITSELF. CULTURAL AWARENESS MAY BE INCREASED THROUGH EXPOSURE TO EXPRESSIONS IN THE TARGET LANGUAGE THAT EMPHASIZE THE BASIC PATTERNS OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS, THROUGH CLASSROOM DIALOG IN THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE, AND THROUGH CAREFULLY SELECTED, AUTHENTIC SAMPLES OF ART, LITERATURE, AND VOCAL MUSIC WHICH REFLECT THE INTANGIBLE ELEMENTS OF THE FOREIGN CULTURE. LANGUAGE TEACHERS, THROUGH THE LANGUAGES THEY TEACH, ARE IN AN IDEAL POSITION TO ADOPT THE OVERALL APPROACH TO CULTURE THAT IS INDISPENSABLE TO THE LANGUAGE LEARNER. (AR)

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Culture and Language Instruction

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One of the areas in modern foreign language instruction which is the subject of much discussion is "culture," in the full dimensions of all its meanings, as it relates to modern foreign language study. In this Teacher's Notebook, culture is related to language and to each member of the community, as well as to the sum of all its noblest thoughts and deeds. Nelson Brooks distinguishes between two different aspects of culture — *formal* and *deep* — and points out that those who are charged with language instruction are in an ideal position to adopt the overall view of culture and all its aspects: for this is what language has the peculiar capacity to reflect.

Scholar and linguist, writer and editor, Nelson Brooks is a most important figure in modern foreign language instruction. A vigorous proponent of the audio-lingual approach, he is Associate Professor of French at Yale University, where he teaches French and conducts courses in the teaching of modern foreign language for candidates for the Ph.D. and M.A.T. degrees.

Currently Director of Summer Activities at Yale, as well as Director of the Yale Summer Language Institute, Dr. Brooks is the author of the major guide to modern foreign language instruction — *Language and Language Learning* — the second edition of which was published by Harcourt, Brace & World in 1964, and has contributed many articles to professional journals on the audio-lingual approach to foreign language teaching.

The School Department Research Division of Harcourt, Brace & World publishes the Teacher's Notebook in Modern Foreign Languages to give articles of interest a wide circulation within the profession. Comments and suggestions are invited.

SCHOOL DEPARTMENT RESEARCH DIVISION

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Culture and Language Instruction

Teachers of foreign languages, both modern and classical, have always wished to develop in their students not only competence in the language they teach but also an informed interest in the culture to which it belongs. Yet in teaching for the cultural objective we have often overlooked, or rather quickly dismissed, many of the important and distinctive characteristics of the new culture that are reflected in the everyday use and the formal use of language. And we have often failed to realize that culture relates not merely to a selected group in a community but to everyone.

Instead, our interest has usually centered on history and maps, buildings and landscapes, on costumes, music, and the contents of art museums. The value of such matters is unquestioned, yet we may well ask why our attention should be fixed only on faraway times and places and things, when the language itself, which is both the vehicle of the foreign culture and a most authentic example of it, is always immediately available in our classrooms. In addition to history, maps, pictures, songs, and realia, is there not much more that we can make available to beginning students in the way of cultural understanding if we develop an awareness of how deeply culture is rooted in language? And can we not indicate some of the ways in which every member of a community is a product and an example of the culture in which he grows up?

Suppose we were to assemble in Washington, D.C., a group of boys and girls about fourteen or fifteen years old, selected at random from cities such as London, Paris, Madrid, Rome, Berlin, Moscow, dressed as they would normally be to start off to school. As we looked at them standing before us, noting their physical features and clothing, we would be hard pressed to tell who came from what city — or indeed to be certain that they did not all come from Washington itself. (If we were to select these young people from towns within a fifty-mile radius of these capitals, rather than in the city itself, the situation would hardly be different.) However, the moment we asked them to talk in their native language, each one would have said no more than a few syllables before we could tell from what city he came. And if we could penetrate deeply into their thoughts, their beliefs, their loyalties, their sense of good and bad and of right and wrong, their hopes and fears and certainties, we would surely find many fascinating patterns of sameness and difference, depending upon the country and the culture in which each one had lived.

Today, no small part of the objectives assumed by language teachers is the desire to help students see that language is a part of culture, and that culture is something impressed upon and possessed by every individual member of a community, old or young. Yet, although what we mean by language is relatively clear, what we mean by culture is much less so, and we shall have to examine the word closely in order to perceive just what it stands for and how we can use it in language instruction.

Meanings of "Culture"

"Culture" is an unusual word, having a variety of meanings, some of which are not only different but mutually exclusive. In its figurative sense, "culture," since the sixteenth century, has referred to improvement and refinement of the mind by education and training. In the nineteenth century, Matthew Arnold defined the word as "acquainting ourselves with the best that has been known or said in the world," thus making explicit a meaning that is widely popular today. Then, in our own

century, the anthropologists added another very different meaning: the sum of attainments and the learned behavior patterns of any specific period, race, or people.

No little confusion has resulted from the use of the same word to mean both "best" and "all," for the very concept of "best" implies that a great deal of the "all" has been eliminated. It might have been better if the scientists had chosen or coined another word for their unbiased and all-inclusive study of the way of life of another people. As matters stand, the word "culture" must now be used to signal, on the one hand, social, intellectual, and artistic achievements of the highest order; and, on the other, a totality of beliefs and thoughts and actions, grandiose and minute, fantastic and practical, heroic, shocking, and banal, good, bad, and indifferent — a total human story of a human community. Thus both humanists and scientists have a heavy stake in the word "culture," and it is no surprise to find that their different value systems are thrown into sharp contrast when we compare these two dissimilar meanings for which the same word must be used.

Culture and Civilization

It may help further to clarify our thinking about culture if we point out the ways in which it is similar to yet different from civilization. Due to certain facts of human history, there is a breadth and depth and comprehensiveness in the word "culture" that is not to be found in the word "civilization." Men were hunters and lived in the wilderness before they became farmers and keepers of flocks and began to live in villages and eventually in cities. Culture, in its anthropological sense, refers to the belief and behavior patterns of a language community — any community.

Civilization, on the other hand, refers primarily to those features of a culture that life in cities has made possible and put a premium upon. City life involves a specialization of duties and activities, an interdependence of individuals, and the development of classes of greater or lesser power and importance. Improvements and refinements in dwellings, food, clothing, entertainment, personal conduct, and esthetic expression which the life of a hunter cannot encourage or permit are possible in cities. Whatever is found in civilization is a part of culture, yet the converse is not true. This distinction leads in no way to the conclusion that one is preferable to or more important than the other. But language originated long before cities and there is a limiting factor in the word civilization that makes it necessary to go beyond it in order to understand the life and thought reflected in the foreign language our students are learning.

Culture, History, and Geography

Since our students' first encounter with culture as a subject of study has so often been in terms of historical events and personages and the details of maps, it may further clarify our understanding of culture if we discuss some of the ways in which it is distinct from history and geography. In the most general terms, history is the story of man's past interpreted from the records that are available to us. Written records inevitably loom large in historical considerations, although buildings, monuments, and man-made objects of any kind are not overlooked. There is major concern for identifying the significant and noteworthy circumstances connected with any sequence of events and the motivation of the persons associated with them. Historians are deeply concerned to distinguish fact from fable and to establish to the greatest possible degree the accuracy and validity of their sources. They recognize as prehistory what must have happened before the time of such records as we now have. In contrast to history, culture is concerned with man wherever and whenever he may be found. In cultural studies, there is a strong interest in archeology, mythology, prehistory, nonliterate people, and the development and transmission of cultural modes of thought and action — subjects that are only infrequently pursued in history.

Geography is the study of the earth's surface, of the features of land and water, of plant and animal life and of climate that are found on it, and the interrelation of each of these to the others. Human life will, of course, be deeply affected by, and in turn often have a decided effect upon, the geographical environment in which it exists. But it would be as great a mistake to fail to distinguish between geography and culture as it would be to fail to distinguish between the stage setting of a play and the actors and the story they enact.

To sum up, we may note that the same set of circumstances or the same locale may be viewed quite differently according to the aims and interests of the discipline concerned. An ocean harbor may be viewed by a historian in terms of the first men to discover and use the harbor and the major human events connected with it, whether military or political or economic. The same harbor will be viewed by a geographer with a concern for the shore line, the rocks, the tides, the channel, and

the ocean bottom, as well as the currents of water and air. The cultural anthropologist will view this harbor with concern for individual and community life, present and past; he will ask what purposes and myths and folkways are discernible in the daily thoughts and activities of those who live there, what factors, both linguistic and nonlinguistic, in the routine of their existence demonstrate their attachment to and adjustment to the seaport in which they live. Geography will dwell upon the features of the harbor as a harbor, history will recount the notable social and economic accomplishments of its maritime adventurers, and cultural anthropology will concentrate upon the effects of the reputations established, the fortunes accumulated, and the exploitation of both natural and human resources as they are reflected in the private and public lives of all members of the community.

Patterns in Language and Culture

The word "pattern" has of late been widely employed in the analysis of both language and culture. In language we find that a pattern of syntax — such as the English pattern Subject, Verb, Adjective, Object — can maintain its grammatical sameness while permitting a great variety of vocabulary substitutions for any one of its four elements. In the same way we find in cultural studies that in the relationship of men to women in marriage, or of children to parents, or of individuals to personal possessions, there are discernable patterns of similarity that permit wide differences as they reappear. Patterns of thought and behavior are established in the individual very early in life, and the longer they exist the more difficult they are to relinquish or to change.

In both language and culture, a pattern is the result of individual practice and community agreement and approval. As an individual grows up he discovers or has imprinted upon him the patterns that have universal acceptance in his community, adopts them, and follows them in his own behavior as occasion demands. In language, conformity to a grammatical pattern is a very strict requirement, and failure to keep to accepted patterns quickly renders language inoperative. The expression "I prefer black coffee" can be changed to "I prefer coffee black" and even to "Coffee I prefer black." But the change to "I coffee black prefer" makes the expression no longer acceptable as English.

Culture, like language, has a dual manifestation relating it on the one hand to the group and, on the other, to the individual. The first of these is seen in the total reservoir of patterns of belief and behavior that characterize the entire group. The second is seen in the approach of the individual to these patterns in his personal life. The urge toward conformity may be very strongly felt in some instances, and much less so in others. For example, when the national anthem is played, everybody stands; when a national holiday is proclaimed, all banks are closed. But on Thanksgiving Day, though the established pattern is to serve turkey for dinner, and most households do so, many do not. In our national elections every eligible voter is encouraged to vote, yet conformity to this pattern is not observed by a great many voters. By noting both group and individual behavior, we may become better aware of the significance of certain beliefs and actions in the total cultural picture.

Culture and Language

Using vocal sounds to convey thoughts is a human practice that may well be over a million years old. Representing these sounds by marks that the eye rather than the ear can perceive is a practice that dates back only a few thousand years. The total effect of spoken and written language upon human life is incalculable, and it is not too much to say that we would not be human without language. Nothing gives an individual a more deeply felt sense of belonging to his native culture than the possession of his mother tongue. Language and culture are therefore related in a most basic and intimate way, and of all cultural manifestations none is more central, more generally shared, or more characteristic than language. When anyone past childhood goes to live in another culture, it is not very difficult to learn to eat as others do, to dress as others do, nor to live in homes like theirs. But to learn to speak as others do is, even under the best of circumstances, a long and exacting task.

Language is itself a cultural product or artifact, as authentic and representative as any to be found. What, for example, is more Italian than the Italian language? Can we think of anything more Japanese than the way in which the Japanese speak their native tongue? When anthropologists go to study a culture that is new to them, they look for what is learned by all members of the community, what is shared by all, what contributes to the thoughts and beliefs and habits of everyone and is most characteristic of the community's value system and way of life. It is not surprising that they often speak of language as practically pure culture, and recommend its study as such.

Formal Culture and Deep Culture

It is already apparent that if we are to use the word "culture" in the full dimensions of all its meanings, we shall be considering at times the unique products of pure genius, such as Cervantes' *Don Quixote* or Bach's *B minor Mass* or Michelangelo's *Pietà*, and happenings of heroic proportions such as the Crusades, or the conquest of the Western Hemisphere, or the discovery and release of atomic energy. At the other end of the scale we shall be dealing with matters that appear minute in comparison; individual, intimate details that often seem trivial and insignificant, to be reckoned with only because to omit them is to be either incomplete or unjust when life is considered as a personal affair. We need to know what rallying cries stirred an entire nation to defend its territory, its honor, and its way of life, such as Sir Winston Churchill's "Blood, toil, tears, and sweat." But we need also to know who gives a seat to whom in a crowded public vehicle, what response is given to a stranger who asks for directions, what attention is paid to the noonday meal, what sport is the most popular with all ages, and how respectful children are to their parents, for these matters too are a significant index to a community's system of values.

To distinguish between these two different aspects of culture, the terms *formal* and *deep* are used in this discussion. *Formal* culture refers to the products of artistic endeavor, achievements of intellectual and artistic genius, deeds of heroic valor and concepts of lofty spirit, and various modes of significant thought, genteel living, and racial vigor. These are matters of which a country or nation is fully aware and justly proud, which everyone is informed about and is quite willing to discuss, to display, and to send abroad to be admired and emulated. *Deep* culture, on the other hand, refers to the thoughts and beliefs and actions, the concerns and hopes and worries, the personal values, the minor vanities and the half-serious superstitions, the subtle gradations of interpersonal relationships as expressed in actions and words, the day-by-day details of life as it is lived — often with little or no awareness of these details — at home and at school, at work or at play, in church and in celebrations, in childhood or in manhood, in battle or in peace, in country or in city — in short, what is it like to be a Russian, a Mexican, or a Japanese.

We may conclude that culture in terms of the "best" and culture in terms of the "all," though decidedly different, are at bottom closely interrelated. For the language learner, no full understanding of meaning is possible without an extensive analysis of what is referred to by both the *formal* and the *deep*. The role of language is as important in one as in the other.

Culture may be taught as an end in itself; it may also be taught incidentally when it is encountered in the pursuit of other objectives. Remembering that the principal goal of a language course remains language learning, we will now explore ways in which students can be made aware, through their study of language, of the culture of the country in which the language is spoken.

Instruction in Formal Culture

Following are some of the subjects that are part of what we call formal culture:

literary landmarks
the contents of museums
musical performances
art exhibitions
ballet dancing
public addresses
holidays and parades
national shrines and monuments
churches and worship
schools and charities
business, industry, finance
military life
diplomatic and civil service
organized politics
national sports
medicine
lawmaking and legal justice

In contrast to deep culture, which is encountered in a more or less tenuous form nearly everywhere, formal culture is sharply limited in its organization and practice, though its effects, of course, may be very far-reaching. Such matters as religion, the law, politics, economics, formal education, the professions, the plastic and performing arts, all reflect the presence of discipline — often very rigorous — concerning the basic principles according to which they are established and that govern the activities of those who participate in them. Descriptions of the most notable characteristics of such examples of formal culture have long been the main concern of authors whose purpose is to convey the essence of a foreign culture to American students.

Many books and articles dealing with culture in this sense are available in both the target language and English. If our discussion of formal culture is briefer than that of deep culture, it is because the study of the latter is much more elusive and unfamiliar and for this reason requires more attention. Students are entitled to an ample experience in the learning of both aspects of culture, and it will be found that a carefully developed awareness of deep culture renders the study of formal culture and of literature far more rewarding than it could otherwise be.

Mother Tongue or Target Language?

An important question is whether or not the target language is to be used in cultural studies, and if so, to what extent. It is probably best to use both languages. When the learner's knowledge of the new language is still extremely limited, it obviously should not be used to provide him with information about the new culture. He should be given reading in English until he is advanced enough to use the target language effectively for this purpose and without risk of reverting to English.

Instruction in Deep Culture

Deep culture includes such matters as:

family ties
friendships
milestones in personal life:
  birthdays, weddings, funerals
bravery and cowardice
pride and self-respect
status
dictates of conscience
ambition, self-sacrifice, selfishness
childhood, adulthood
expressions of masculinity
expressions of feminity
choosing a wife or a husband
kindness and cruelty
humor
gestures of:
  welcome or hostility
  approval or disapproval
  affection or anger
  courtesy or rudeness
  inquiry or lack of comprehension
voice intonations that mark:
  command or invitation
  surprise or indignation
  pleasure or annoyance
  coaxing or admiration
  menace or reassurance
the grammar of courteous or familiar address

Following are suggestions for making this aspect of culture a recognized part of the program of language learning:

Certain Classroom Expressions

Greetings and leave-takings. If the student comes away from his first session having listened to and repeated a good many times in authentic fashion a few simple formulas of greetings and leave-takings, he will have taken an important first step in the learning of culture. Such formulas lie at the very core of interpersonal relationships.

Culture and politeness. Every language is well supplied with words and formulas for the expression of politeness in a great variety of daily encounters and exchanges, as people greet each other, communicate, interact, and take their leave. Although expressions of politeness usually do not contribute to the mainstream of indispensable information — indeed they often say little or nothing — they profoundly condition the attitude of both speaker and hearer and therefore have a significant effect upon the ultimate goal of meaning. From the very beginning of his experience as a speaker of a new language, the student may become acquainted with the common expressions of politeness, the situations in which they are appropriate, and the cultural significance of such expressions when properly used.

Culture and interjections. Interjections and expletives are such a normal and common feature of spoken language that their frequency often exceeds that of any other linguistic form. Interjections often have a special dimension of cultural significance, their meaning not being a matter of language proper but rather of who uses them, how they are used, and in what circumstances or situations. Here again we find striking examples of the impact of culture upon linguistic forms. Learning the appropriate use of at least a few common interjections is an important step in culture sophistication that can be made very early in the language course.

Culture and personal names. If we ask a person his name, we are likely to receive a reply that is accurate but incomplete, if by name we mean that which a person is called. Each of us is addressed or summoned or listed in different ways, in which last names and first names, titles and nicknames are used — in varying order — depending on the immediate purpose and the degree of familiarity or formality that is due. The same is true in any other culture. There are details of much cultural significance in the ways in which a teacher addresses his students and they address him, in the ways in which they speak to each other and use the names of persons not in the classroom, whether they are individuals in real life or characters in books being discussed.

Culture and courteous or intimate address. When we speak or write, we address ourselves sometimes to members of our own family or our most intimate acquaintances, sometimes to persons whom we know only slightly or not at all. The difference in these relationships is strongly marked in patterns of both culture and language. The cultural modes of interpersonal relationships of this kind have penetrated so far into language that there is usually a set of forms that can be used in one case but not in the other, and vice versa. To use a wrong form or not to use a right one can produce results that are sometimes merely noticeable, and at other times are hilarious, insulting, or grossly inept.

A shift from courteous to intimate forms may mark a desire for closer association, while the reverse may be a sign of anger or rejection. These contrasts in courteous and intimate address are marked by differences in pronouns, both personal and impersonal, in verbs, and in possessive pronouns and adjectives. A full description of the various sets of forms is often complicated enough; a description of their cultural significance in actual use is far more so. Yet the handling of courteous and intimate forms can be learned like anything else in language, if ample opportunity and suitable situations are provided. There is probably no way to bring examples of central features of a culture into the language class more immediately, more easily, or more effectively than by practice in the authentic use of forms of this kind.

Culture and numbers. Though numerals are not in a central position with regard to language (they belong to mathematics, a different symbol system), they are central with regard to culture. Ways of indicating what the clock says, what the calendar says, how old we are, how far it is from here to there, how long it takes us to do this or that, how much or how many a receptacle contains, how many friends or books or rhythmic beats enter into our calculations, and the like, are all inseparable parts of our thinking from early childhood throughout life. One has only to compare ways of saying, for example, the number "eighty-six" or the time "quarter of two" in a list of contemporary languages to see in what different ways notions that are basically the same are expressed. Mathematical concepts have been a part of civilized thought since its inception, and it is no surprise to find a strong cultural imprint upon the language used to express them.

Materials and Methods

Culture and dialog. Along with basic sentences and continuous narrative, dialog is one of the most useful ways of modeling what a beginning student is to learn, precisely because it is a replica of the way in which people speak to each other in real life. What is said in a dialog will have as great a dimension of psychological meaning as is put into it by the person speaking. Since the utterances are not being generated by the learner but have been previously prepared and are now given to him to say, his assignment is precisely that of an actor in a play. It is the task of the teacher, of course, to provide as authentic a model as possible for the student to imitate. By the same token, the greater the degree of likelihood and trueness to life that is written into the dialog when it is composed and the greater the degree of identification the student can make with the role he assumes, the greater will be his satisfaction and success in learning.

Culture and pattern practice. While dialog is, at its best, a replica of normal conversation, pattern practice or structure drills make no such pretense. In such drills, a given pattern of language is selected, modeled, and repeated with minor variations, with the intent of establishing this pattern in the memory of the learner for future reference. The relation of pattern practice to normal language is not unlike that of a scale or a finger exercise on a musical instrument to music itself. The scale or finger exercise *per se* cannot be called music, yet without them the satisfactory performance of music would not be possible. A given language pattern may have many variants in terms both of vocabulary content and of personal modifications on the part of the user and of situations in which it is used. A pattern of language becomes a pattern of culture when what is said and the way in which it is said correspond exactly with what a native speaker would be led to say in a similar situation.

Role of pictures. Pictures may also play a useful role in instruction in language and in culture. In learning the sounds of vowels and consonants and the intonation patterns of the new language, or in learning verb endings or pronoun forms or adjective agreements, or in learning the order of words in a sentence, pictures are virtually useless, with the single exception of charts or diagrams, which are not pictures in the ordinary sense at all. When we turn to vocabulary and meaning, however, pictures come into their own. An initial step in distinguishing between the dissimilar role of pictures and of words in conveying cultural information is the recognition of the fact that it is the special capacity of a picture to *particularize* while it is the special capacity of words to *generalize*. A passport photo can serve to distinguish one person from literally thousands of others, and at the briefest glance. To attempt the same precision in words would be a very long and involved affair and could never attain the same definitiveness. On the other hand, a word can identify the basic sameness that can be perceived in hundreds or thousands of objects all easily distinguishable from each other. To illustrate by pictures all that is meant by the word "tree" would fill volumes and even then would be incomplete.

Once we have understood both the capabilities and the limitations of pictures in the learning of language and of culture, we may proceed to exploit this visual me-

dium to the full. Although pictures will never teach us either pronunciation or grammatical correctness or the fine points of style in language, they can convey, in a very short time, qualities, relationships, and a precise uniqueness of detail that without them become either cumbersome or impossible to convey.

The value of pictures in vocabulary learning is clear enough from their extensive use in dictionaries, even in one's mother tongue. The distinctive outline of a bird or the shape of a tool is far more easily and clearly conveyed by a simple line drawing than by words. It goes without saying, however, that a picture would be powerless to convey what is meant by the word "often" or to distinguish it from the word "sometimes." A great part of language learning has no need whatever of pictures, for it is the very essence of language to be able to establish communication through sounds alone or by written substitutes for those sounds.

It would be a strange language and a strange literature that had to depend upon pictures to relate a speaker or writer to the person or persons addressed. But having granted this basic and prodigious fact about language, we may then invite the aid of pictures in establishing precision in new vocabulary, and resemblances and contrasts in total situations. Indeed, the multisensory presentation of situations through printed text, tape recordings, and pictures can result in a great increase of depth and sharpness in meaning for the learner.

Culture can be presented through pictures in a variety of ways, all the way from magazine illustrations pasted on cardboard to feature-length film, and including snapshots, filmstrips, transparencies, and simple line drawings. The classroom audience is always interested in seeing pictures. What is important is to select those in which there are significant cultural details and to draw the students' attention to these details. Awareness is a key factor in cultural understanding; the first task is to direct attention so that the right matters will be observed, and the second to comment on their significance.

Culture and song. Language and music, two separate symbol systems, each with its own grammar and its own area of meaning, join at times in an ancient and universal partnership: song. The three areas of talk, song, and instrumental music are easily distinguishable. No matter how expressive the music of a violin or an oboe may be, these instruments do not formulate the sounds of words; no matter what words he may use, we are never in doubt as to whether the person addressing us is talking or singing. We should not forget that in singing a song, we grossly distort some of the basic elements of normal speech, such as intonation patterns, length of vowels, and basic rhythm. But while song takes away something from normal language, it adds musical dimensions whose cultural significance is often very great.

As in literature, both fine art and folk art find their expression in music, and the songs and compositions that are indigenous to a country usually bear a strong imprint of the culture that gave them birth. In any culture there are many songs, both contemporary and traditional, that may be easily learned in a language class, even by beginning students. Although they contribute something to language learning – especially in the area of vocabulary and idiom – songs are welcomed in the language classroom principally because of their cultural content and for the change of pace and atmosphere they provide in the program of activities. Since their contribution is essentially cultural, it is most important to choose songs that are authentic and truly representative, and to sing them at the tempo observed by native speakers.

Culture, printing, and handwriting. Printing and handwriting often reveal characteristics that are peculiar to the culture to which they belong. Handwriting is learned in school, and the results tend to reflect not only individual differences but also the system or method used in instruction. The correspondence of the details of handwriting to the norms of official printing varies; in some languages, as in Russian, the differences are great, to the point of its being necessary to learn two separate alphabets.

When we compare one language with another we find notable differences in the conventions observed with regard to the use of quotation marks, question marks, capitals, and commas. The student who has encountered a foreign language only in texts manufactured in the United States will find a book printed in another country an interesting artifact: he will note the absence of English, the differences in punctuation, in capital letters, and in numerals, and also the cutting and binding of the pages.

Culture viewed through readings. As soon as reading texts are introduced into a language course, we are concerned not only with their value as models for language learning in all its aspects, but with their cultural value. Cultural overtones may be discernible when the characters in a story are at home or in public, at meals

or at play, on holiday or at a funeral, at a doorway or in intimate conversation, at church or in the theatre, in the city or in the country, in court or on military duty, in the wine shop, or in the doctor's office. Each of these – and countless others – is a situation characterized by such details as architecture, furniture, or natural surroundings, by ceremony or intimacy, by emotions expressed as people relate to each other and to the environment. To make evident the cultural aspects of these situations serves the intent of the language course and sharpens the focus of literary perception.

Culture and the "no-English" part of class time. A prime characteristic of the culture that the student is learning about is the fact that only the language of that culture is valid in it. It is as natural for a culture to use its own language and that language only as it is for a musician to stick to his instrument throughout the piece being played.

One of the most valid and valuable cultural experiences that a learner can have consists in being in circumstances where only the target language has any worth for communication. From this it should not be inferred that English is never to be used in instruction in language and culture. But it does suggest that the learner is entitled to an experience in which his mother tongue is for extended periods of time not valid for communication. Not to provide this for him is to deny him a cultural experience of the most typical and authentic kind.

Tests for Instruction in Culture

Tests for language learning and tests for literary studies have a long history and are at present in a reasonably satisfactory state of development. Such tests as now conceived and used are not only valuable as a measurement of the learner's progress but are becoming more and more effective as a means of improving the quality of his learning. Tests designed to measure progress in the area of culture are by no means in such good estate, largely because of the lack of understanding and agreement as to what the word "culture" refers to. With a broader perspective of the meanings of culture, it should be possible to make a significant advance in the theory of what such tests should attempt to do and what they should contain.

No satisfactory sequence of tests can be developed that does not go hand in hand with curriculum planning, and the full details of culture tests cannot be clearly seen until a new curriculum for cultural instruction has been envisaged and put into practice. But it is already possible to see what the character of suitable questions or item types for such tests can be. Multiple-choice questions can be devised in which the problems are not those of language but rather of the appropriate cultural use of language. For example, on entering a friend's house and being asked "May I take your coat?" which of these four rejoinders is the most suitable: "Sure," "Thank you," "I agree," "I beg of you"? A question of this kind may be expanded into the form of a continued conversation in which certain statements or rejoinders are deleted with different sets of options provided from which the student selects the most appropriate one in each instance.

At a more advanced level, the student may complete a conversation thus deleted by writing the appropriate rejoinders himself. Again, a situation may be presented in the form of a selected text or in the form of a picture, the student being asked to identify and comment upon a certain number of details that are culturally meaningful. Or, the student may be asked to compare two pictures, each presenting the same situation but one of them being in his own native cultural context and the other being a similar scene in the foreign culture – for example, a classroom, a city street, a park or playground, a pharmacist's shop, or a railroad station. In such tests, the student may be briefed in advance as to what details to look for. It is inevitable that tests of this sort will involve language competence to a marked degree. In both the preparation and evaluation of such tests it will be necessary to minimize the importance of factors that are purely linguistic and to center attention principally on what is cultural.

Conclusion

The approach to culture presented here is neither exclusively humanistic nor exclusively scientific. A synthesis of both points of view is indispensable for the learner of language. All that has been offered in language classes up to now in what we have called *formal* culture is quite as valuable and important as ever. To this we have added many details of *deep* culture in order to include new areas of meaning that the word "culture" has come to have. We have tried especially to show how culture is related to language and to each member of the community as well as to the sum of all its noblest thoughts and deeds. Those who are charged with language instruction are in an ideal position to adopt this overall view, for it recognizes the value of seeing culture in all its aspects, and this is precisely what language has the peculiar capacity to reflect.

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